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DEATH OR LIBERTY.

(By Robert Burns.)

Why should we idly waste our prime,
Repeating our oppressions?
Come, rouse to arms, 'tis now the time
To punish past transgressions.
Tis said that kings can do no wrong,
Their murderous deeds deny it;
And, thence from us their power is sprung,
We have a right to try it;
Now each true patriot's song shall be
"Welcome, death or liberty!"

Froud Priests and Bishops will translate,
And canonise as martyrs;
The guillotine on Fears shall wait,
And Knights shall hang in garters;
Those despots long have trod us down,
And judges are their engines;
Such wretched minions of a crown,
Demand the peoples' vengeance.
Today 'tis theirs—to-morrow, we
Shall den the cap of liberty!

The golden age, we'll then revive—
Each man will be a brother;
In harmony we all shall live
And share the earth together;
In virtue trained; enlightened youth,
We'll love each fellow creature,
And future years shall prove the truth,
That man is good by nature;
Then let us toast, with three times three,
The reign of peace and liberty.

Passing Show.

To hell with the master class and their
Daylight faking. They are such accom-
plished liars themselves that they im-
agine that the sun, the stars, and the
planets can be made to lie in their in-
terests. Who do they think they are?

The capitalists lie through their hired
politicians who preach political equality
to jobless wage slaves; they lie through
their newspapers, written by mental pros-
titutes who are hired for their lying cap-
acity; they lie like hell in their schools
where patriotism is taught to homeless
wanderers, and they lie in their churches
about a mythical God who picked up a
lump of nothing and made a universe
out of it. Their latest achievement is to
make the clocks lie.

Telling the truth to boneheads, who are
seduced with master class ideas, recalls
the experience of the visitor who brought
a bottle of strange fluid to the Highlands
of Scotland. Everybody who tasted it
went into fits, and when the local parson
tried it, he simply sat down and fainted
at the mouth. Then the services of an
eminent chemist were secured, and he
announced that it was pure water, and
they were not used to it.

The price of boots is going up. The
price of other commodities keeps on soar-
ing. Meanwhile the slave toils and toils
for the scantiest of wages.

Let us compliment the capitalists on
keeping the working class discontented.
They are the fleas which keep the dog
"sassy."

We are still being treated to further
examples of the futility of sectional union-
ism. Men who are engaged in the same
industry keep in the job while others who
are organised in a different union are
out on strike.

It is announced that Mr. Hughes is
likely to go to England to attend an
Imperial Conference. Well, plutocracy
can mark its own course with or without
Mr. Hughes. There is no need for the
working class to worry whether he goes
or stays.

What an enjoyable time the slaves had
during the Christmas holidays. Those
who were not out of jobs were wondering
what would happen if they were.

Plutocracy has notched up another
year, but that is just one nearer the
reckoning.

The essence of Capitalism—production
with a club.

Do you really love your boss, or is it
merely an idea on your part that the
shackles of slavery are gold bangles pre-
sented by him as a token of affection.

Socialism won't destroy the home, but
it will destroy the landlord's grip on the
home.

Men are bad enough, but they are not
nearly so bad as the capitalist system.

Service is enslaving; servitude debas-
ing. Wage slavery is servitude.

Under capitalism the great man is
merely the wealthy man. And he only
achieves greatness through the labour of
others.

The economic equality of the sexes will
place marriage on a higher plane than it
has hitherto occupied. It is generally ad-
mitted that marriage has hitherto been
a failure.

Socialism will give to women economic
independence. Women will then be able
to wait till the right man comes along,
and this fact will tend to improve man-
hood.

In the Sermon on the Mount and else-
where the first Great Communist lovingly
addressed himself to the "sowers,"
"reapers," "harvesters," "vine-dressers,"
and "builders." He never addressed
himself to the money-changers or Mam-
mon-worshippers, save in scathing terms
of denunciation.

No improvement on human conditions
was ever effected on "sound business
lines." Business is concerned only with
profits, not with humanity. For this rea-
son commercialism has always opposed
reforms on the ground that they did not
represent "sound business."

But reforms do not in the long run
affect commercialism, which, after a little
trouble, adjusts itself to the altered con-
ditions, and then continues its exploita-
tion as before. Real and enduring reform
can only be accomplished by abolishing
the profit system, and its "sound business
lines."

Out of evil cometh good, so the trust
is showing the sanity of abolishing com-
petition. But in killing competition, the
trust is making the rich fewer and richer,
and the poor poorer and more numerous.

If the people formed themselves into a
trust they should eliminate competition so
that all could benefit, instead of a few.
This would be social co-operation, or So-
cialism.

Labor does not seek to do away with
private property, but merely to abolish
private exploitation, whereby a few ac-
quire property, and the mass has none.

In the city and town, man sees com-
petition in its most ridiculous and waste-
ful form. Thousands are there engaged
in work which scores could accomplish
under a socialised industrial system. Then
the money which is wasted on the town
could be devoted to the development of
the country.

If you look back over history you will
see that things have not always been the
same.

Epoch has succeeded epoch; society has
constantly changed.

The future will not be like the present,
though there are some who hold fast to
the notion that it is now as it was in the
beginning and ever shall be, world with-
out end. Amen!

Capitalism will assuredly pass away, to
be succeeded by the Socialist system of
collective ownership and control for the
collective good.

One thing you have to admit: The capi-
talists vote intelligently. That's more
than you can say about the working lunk-
heads.

STOLEN GOODS.

Socialism will civilise civilisation.

Don't worry, work for Socialism.

War is capitalism's confession of
failure.

Equality of opportunity. That's So-
cialism.

Let's have less patriotism and more
brotherhood.

Socialism will heal the sores on the so-
cial body.

War never gained anything for the
working class.

Socialism will build homes for use and
not for rent.

The workers must help themselves or
go without help.

We co-operate to make things, let's
co-operate to take things.

When capitalism can no longer main-
tain itself, it resorts to war.

Capitalism smiles in your face while it
picks your pocket.

Socialism proposes to make men more
valuable than hogs or mules.

When the slaves begin to think, they
will put capitalism on the blink.

Industrial justice and the wage system
cannot operate at the same time.

All profit is unpaid labor. There will
be no unpaid labor under Socialism.

Brotherhood in business! As well talk
of brotherhood between cats and mice.

If the workers would break their chains
they must first learn to use their brains.

The only way to settle the class struggle
is to eliminate the idlers. Socialism will
do this.

Capitalism has always used patriotism
as a cloak to hide the inner mechanism
of its workings.

Socialism will give a man something
more than the right to live. It will give
him the means whereby he can live.

Comradeship is the heart of the Socia-
list movement. Be careful that the move-
ment in your locality does not die of heart
failure.

The best guarantee of peace is a guar-
antee that one class shall no longer have
the power to make profits from the labor
of another class.

Let the workers heed the warning
George Washington issued over a hundred
years ago. Said Washington: "Guard
against the impostures of patriotism."

Most everybody knows something
about Socialism, but most of it isn't so.
If everybody knew the truth about So-
cialism, 90 per cent of everybody would
be for it.

It doesn't take much to make some
people proud. The editor of a little two-
by-four daily of Pittsburg, Kans. (17,000
population) boasts of a broad line made
up for its jobless workers.

It is true that the worker is not the
slave of any particular employer, but it
is also true that he must have employ-
ment or starve, become an object of char-
ity, a tramp or a criminal.

Heretofore the history of the human

race has usually been divided into three
periods—savagery, barbarism, civilisation.
Now that the world has gone war mad
should this not be corrected as follows:
savagery, barbarism?

About every so often the bankers have
a spell of worry about helping the farmer
"move his crops." The United States
treasurer usually comes to the rescue and
the farmers' crops are moved—moved,
profits and all, into the pockets of the
bankers.

Socialists are not satisfied with a 10
per cent increase in wages—they demand
the whole product of their labor, less the
cost of maintaining a system of society and
industry that guarantees equal opportuni-
ty to all. Who is better entitled to the
things his hands and brains produce than
the maker?

Workers! Be not deceived by the clap-
trap of the patriots for profit about pre-
paredness for defence (!). The coupon
clippers are lying to you, lying as they
never lied before. They tell you pre-
paredness for war is the only way to
insure peace. They lie and they know
they lie. Let the nation prepare for war
and war will come as sure as to-morrow's
sun.

Militarism receives a second and harder
blow when we challenge it to exhibit its
results as a producer and a maintainer of
peace.—Rev. William Pierson Merrill.

This world-war, so wicked that no na-
tion dare own its paternity, is the very
soul of atrocity, most hideous as it is most
unparalleled.—Advocate of Peace.

The present state of Europe proves that
preparedness for war is the surest provo-
cation of war.—Isaac Sharpless.

Armies and navies on a huge scale are
created to fight and in time of crisis they
are like loaded weapons in the hands of
angry men.—Pennsylvania Peace Society.

TO ARMAGEDDON.

The spirits of devils, working
miracles, which go forth unto the Kings of the
earth, and of the whole world, to gather them
to the battle of that great day of God Al-
mighty . . . And he gathered them together
into a place called in the Hebrew tongue, Ar-
mageddon" (Rev. xvi, 14, 16).

Bright is the flashing sword,
Held in the strong right hand
Of him who keepeth ward,
And bids the foeman stand.

Loud is the bugle's blare,
When armed men take the field,
With steel keen-edged and bare
For eager hands to wield.

Fierce is the crash of men
Who meet in lists of Fate;
Bloody their purpose when,
Strong arms are nerved by hate.

Red are the plains of Mars,
Red are the hands of Cain;
Sightless beneath the stars,
Silent and red the slain.

Sad are the homes that mourn,
Dim are the eyes that weep;
Never from that far hour
Come their beloved who sleep.

World, in whose blood-soaked fields
Hell hath enlarged its bounds;
World, whose dread harvest yields
Crop of increasing mounds;

Torn by the lust of greed,
Planet of death and sin!
What is thy well-earned meed,
Fit with thy sword to win?

Hark! 'Tis the battle song,
Sung with exultant breath:
Tramp! 'Tis the martial throng:
On! 'Tis the march of death.

Form! Earth's great armies form.
Arm! While hearts fail for fear:
Soon breaks War's last great storm:
Arm! For that day is near.

—J. D. K. AITKEN.

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A Queensland Letter.

The Sugar Question.

The season is ending in two or three weeks, and the sugar mills of North Queensland will cease the crushing operations. Will cease, because the rain is pouring down, and the density of sugar is falling to zero.

Soon we toilers of the sugar fields will pick up our scanty belongings and migrate to districts where "hands" are wanted. Tired, thoroughly exhausted, we have to look for another job. We haven't the money to take a rest, to recover after six months' slaving; our earnings are gone.

Not very long ago you could find experienced cane-cutters receiving five and six shillings a day. Five and six shillings! for ten to twelve hours' hard work, when tropical heat squeezes out your last ounce of strength, and you are panting, staggering, carrying stone-heavy bundles of cane! Mill and farm hands usually get nine and twopenny a day.

The new Acting-Judge Dickson's award, gazetted in September, gave some relief to all wage slaves of the sugar industry. It increases the wages by 25 to 30 per cent, shortens the hours to forty-eight per week, nearly abolishes the contract system of cane-cutting by fixing a minimum day wage of seventeen shillings to all cane-cutters.

It means something to the workers, and consequently put in a rage the owners of the sugar mills and the farmers. Seeing their savage exploitation limited, they raise the usual cry of all "rats": "The sugar industry is RUINED!!!" and openly defying the law—the gazetted Dickson's award—the members and leaders of the Australian Sugar Growers' Association declared a lock-out in Bundaberg, Mackay, and Townsville districts. A similar course of action was taken in Mossman and Cairns districts when the workers asked for the new award rates.

We struggled four weeks in Mossman and Cairns, and compelled the sugar kings to climb down. They agreed to pay us the new rates and back pay from July 1st. The idleness of Mackay and Townsville mills was trebled, and even now the Fairy-mead plantation (Bundaberg district) keeps the old starvation award in existence.

We pay dearly for our victory. We were kept idle during the best time of the season, when the weather is comparatively cool and dry. We didn't get any pay for lost time, but spent what we earned before, our Christmas on the sugar fields, our holiday's joy to toil in hellish heat and be drenched by torrents of ice-cold rain.

The season is prolonged, too. Although we are kept two months longer away from our families and homes—although plenty of coloured and black labor is engaged in sugar districts—it is impossible to cut out all the crop of this season's cane. Impossible because the cane growers' lock-out delayed it, and the rainy season is commencing.

Think of it! Our sugar is dear. We pay high "patriotic" prices for home-made sugar; our government's charity is inexhaustible, so far as sugar growers are concerned, and—always we are short of sugar, and have to import much dearer foreign stuff, produced by cheap black labor.

But come to North Queensland and you will see enormous fields of sugar cane, worth thousands of pounds, rotting, perishing for nothing. Rotting because the

The Materialist Conception of History.

A Criticism.

Just at this stage when a discussion has been going on as to the attitude of Socialists towards religion, it may not be amiss for a statement on Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History in the course of which I will briefly refer to the attitude on Religion.

In the course of this article all quotations are from "Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History," by Karl Kautsky, unless otherwise stated.

The question have been asked as to why are not all our ideals the same if they are the reflex of material conditions, and how is it we have the one hundred and more religions and different ideals.

First, I would like to point out that there is a vital difference between the Materialist Conception of History and Philosophie Materialism.

Such an authority as Edmund Schell, in his official capacity as editor of the New York "Weekly People," and speaking for the S.L.P. of America, has stated that the Materialist Conception of History is not Materialistic. Some people state that the line of demarcation between Philosophie Materialism and Historical Materialism has never been drawn, but such is not the case.

The Materialist Conception of History points out that the system of production prevailing in any society dominates, as a rule, the social, political, and intellectual life of men in general. Which is quite a different conception to that of Materialistic Determinism, which makes no allowance for the Moral Law.

"Because the moral law is the universal instinct of equal force to the instinct of self-preservation and production, thence its force, thence its power which we obey without thought, thence our rapid decisions in particular cases, whether an action is good or bad, virtuous or vicious, thence the energy and decision of our moral judgment, and thence the difficulty to prove it when reason begins to analyse its grounds."

Reject as we must the metaphysic and theological assumption of the two worlds to which, according to Plato and Kant, man belongs, it is nevertheless true that man lives at the same time in two worlds, and the moral law inhabits one of them, which is not the world of experience. The world of experience is dominated by the prevailing method of production.

"The two worlds, in which man lives, are the Past and the Future. The Present forms the boundary of the two. His whole experience lies in the past, all experience is past, and all the connecting links which past experience shows him lie with inevitable necessity before, or still more, behind him. In these there is nothing more left to alter, he can do nothing more in regard to them than recognise their necessity. Thus is the world of experience the world of knowing and the world of necessity."

Certainly I can extend the experience of the past into the future, certainly I can conclude that these will be even so necessarily determined as those, but even if I can only recognise the world on the assumption of necessity, yet I shall only be able to act in it on the assumption of a certain Freedom. Even if compulsion is exercised over my actions, there remains to me the choice, whether I shall yield to it or not.

The moral judgment, which is an absurdity in the world of the past, the world of experience, in which there is nothing to choose, where iron necessity rules, is unavoidable in the world of the unknown future—of freedom."

owners of this national wealth clearing, according to Mr. Dickson, twenty pounds an acre yearly, are rich enough to do so rather than pay the workers a living wage.

More than that—crying "the sugar industry is ruined," and violating the law (new award)—the Australian Sugar Growers' Association make money out of it.

The Queensland Full Court declared four essential parts of Dickson's award unconstitutional. This means—a new award has to be made more suitable to the exploiters. Further, the Queensland State Government promised to pay seven pounds more per ton of raw sugar. And no judge, no parliament, no, nor yet any labor paper, has raised a voice to tell the people what a criminal action is being perpetrated by the sugar money-bags who shed crocodile tears and rob the workers, the customs—every citizen of Australia!

Well, we leave the sugar fields, tired and exhausted. Next year we will come again. And, by God! we'll fight the sugar kings to a finish!

The moral law inhabits the Future, and as coming events cast their shadows before, "morality reacts on the social life, but that only holds good so long as it is dependent from the latter, as it meets the social needs from which it springs." . . . "So soon as the moral principles grow independent they cease to be in consequence, an element of social progress. They ossify, become a conservative element, an obstacle to progress. . . . morality can become, instead of an indispensable social bond, the means of an intolerable restraint on social life. That is also a reciprocal action, but not one in the sense of our anti-materialist moralists," who conceive of a "moral law, independent of time and space, which regulates our actions in time and space."

Philosophic Materialism denies the existence of any reciprocal action, just as some irrational Rationalists deny the Materialist Conception of History when they say that "war is a biological necessity," which statement ignores the fact that war is but an incident in economic evolution.

The concept of the new moral ideal is not always very clear. It does not emerge from any scientific knowledge of the social organism, which is often quite unknown to the authors of the ideal, but from a deep social need, a burning desire, to secure the will for something other than the existing, for something which is the opposite of the existing. And thus this moral ideal is fundamentally only something purely negative, nothing more than opposition to the existing hypocrisy. Yet there is a force towards progress behind it. Evolution is not only a term of biology and history, it covers every phase of Nature and Humanity.

But only the motive power of the class struggle can work fruitfully on the moral ideal. Because only the class struggle, and not the single-headed endeavours of self-interested people possess the strength to develop society further and to meet the needs of the higher developed method of production. And in so far as the moral ideal can in any degree be realised it can be attained only through an alteration of society."

It is bad tactics for the A.S.P. to take up the position of opposing Religion which is merely the reflex of the stage of evolution of material conditions. It would be quite as logical to start a crusade against the ape, because it has not evolved, so far as the human being as to take up the position of uncompromising hostility to religion in those who have not evolved so far in their ideas as the scientific Socialist.

In the pamphlet "Socialism" issued by the S.L.P., T. J. Holmes says: "Socialists are not trying to destroy religion, although they frequently get credit for so trying. We have looked over the Christian religion and found nothing in it which conflicts with what we are trying to do, that is, assuming that the teachings of Jesus, as recorded in the Gospels, be regarded as the expression of the Christian religion." And he further appends a footnote, "Some unscrupulous Socialists, perceiving the essential basic justice in the feeling and attitude of Jesus in relation to the society of his time, and being struck with the analogy of his attitude to theirs, have claimed Jesus as being the 'first Socialist.' Such language is the expression of fervent feeling rather than correct thinking and classification."

Religion must be a Private Matter.

"Certainly in Socialism the student is always a fighter as well, and no man can artificially cut himself in two parts, of which the one has nothing to do with the other. Thus even with Marx occasionally in his scientific research there breaks through the influence of a moral ideal. But he always endeavors, and rightly, to banish it where he can. Because the moral ideal becomes a source of error in science, when it takes it on itself to point out to it its aims. Science has only to do with the recognition of the necessary. It can certainly arrive at prescribing a 'shall,' but this dare only come up as a consequence of the insight into the necessary. It declines to discover a 'shall,' which is not to be recognised as a necessity founded in the world of phenomena. The Ethic must always be only an object of science; this has to study the moral instincts as well as the moral ideals and explain them; it cannot take advice from them as to the results at which it is to arrive. Science stands above Ethics, its results are just as little moral or immoral as necessity is moral or immoral."

HUNS.

The Voice of The Mob.

(By Robert Morlett.)

Popularity, the voice of the mob, has given the word a gruesome significance. It sounds the depths of human brutality. It reaches the verge of human bestiality. Everything mean, low, treacherous, debased and wicked is Hunnish. Everything despicable and abominable comes within the scope of its meaning. It is a comprehensive word, a word realistic in its implications, and admirably in graphic power. Revolutionaries may find, when they are tired and at a loss for it, our Hunnish ideal imagined.

Whoever who ill-treats a child is a Hun. The man who defrauds a woman of the right to live happily is a Hun. The man who robs his fellow-men of their life's needs is a Hun. The social parasite is a Hun.

"Social forces," regardless of the dominant character, resist that distinguish them from the systems that sway the lives of men in the past whenever they are brought to point the souls of men in the mire of existence, are simultaneously moved to be Hunnish in nature. Good and evil are not of such. Socialists if they have valued anything, have proved beyond all doubt that the very legend of the world, the belief in the good, the good thing, in our time we cannot forget it to be normal and abnormal times the dark times are never asleep in our bodies. Our souls refuse to ignore them.

War may cloth the sons of society in their tattered robes, but the garment is not their own. The mockery and bitterness cannot be hidden away by a four and a half per cent patriotism. The Hunnishness cannot be dissolved by the needs of the day. It cannot be concealed by the flaming of flags, nor can it become the mark of power by the approval of barbarism. And a society that can starve the body and brain of a child; that can force a woman down into the abysses of immorality; that can murder a child by the thousand year in and year out in the pit of a black cat can crowd human beings into slums and feed them on a diet of 60 prisoners and pauper houses and a glutted "bones" with its diseased units, that can punish men relentlessly and continuously for faults that science has shown conclusively to be hereditary innate, is a society that is Hunnish to the last degree of brutality. For that society our fellow-workers are perishing in thousands.

Today there is plenty of all the life needs in the country for everyone, man, woman, and child.

The country owes, now, a fulness of life it never owed before. Will the ruling and warring class pay the debt? Are there any signs of desire to pay the debt? Is there the least hope that capitalist society will become honorable? Will it, despite the greatness of the gift it has received, recognise the giver or all? Will its Hunnish nature be overcome? Will the class that rules rule with a righteous wisdom corresponding, in degree, to the debt they have contracted? What class has been grossly Hunnish in the past; is Hunnish in the present; will it treat the maimed warriors and the maimed dependents with a justice commensurate with its present needs and demands? Or will it retain its Hunnish nature to the day of its death? Will it continue its brutality, its folly, its crime? Will it turn the sacrifice into tragedy, and the tears to stone, and the hearts to rusted iron?

These questions are more than national insignificance. They are international. Hunnishness belongs to every Capitalist society.

Knowledge may be power; but it carries with it a responsibility that cannot be verbally interpreted. The class that rules and wars possesses all the knowledge essential to the saving of its honour. Its social potency is nearly unlimited. Its mental and material resources are beyond calculation. Its duty is plain and simple. Its debt is great and still unpaid.

Having knowledge and denying, by inactivity, its bond, it accuses itself of every miserable weakness we can imagine. It proves itself to be ignoble, base, dishonourable and worthless. It proves itself to be Hunnish, and the individuals of it to be Huns, in the least acceptable sense. And those of us who are linked, hand to hand, with that class, who are assisting to their uttermost, in every country, their own social tyrants and enemies, who have forgotten that wars pass and become historical while the wrongs we fight against are apparently more than ephemeral, of them what shall it be said? The answer need not be given. History, itself, shall speak in no uncertain voice; and the word Hun may be found not altogether inapplicable.

GRANNY And The "RED RAGGERS."

The capitalist Press is filled with dismay. It has just discovered that Socialists are active within the unions, and while the unionists are "loyal," intelligent, upright, and everything else that is praiseworthy, they allow themselves to be led by a handful of men who have no brains at all. In the dim, small hours of New Year's morning some mental degenerate who obtains a crust by prostituting whatever small amount of brains he may possess to the cause of plutocracy sat down, in that dilapidated rabbit warren known as the "Sydney Morning Herald" office, and wrote an awful served. He set out to tell the trenchless plunderland that:

"A large body of irreconcilables is out and as a leaven throughout many of the unions, and its object is to stir up industrial unrest."

That is awful. That is tragic, for worse is to come.

"The followers of this extreme section have succeeded in that object."

Good heavens! Only a small section, and operating contrary to the councils of the great daily Press. How can such minorities be accomplished? If such turmoil may arise, when only a few Socialists are alive and active, what chaos and social calamities might come to pass if all the Socialists were dead?

"These men are bitterly opposed to the employers, and make no secret of the fact."

Can such terrible flows really die in our midst. Surely, when thousands of working class women are driven by need wages on to the street, and thousands of men trudge hungry in pursuit of the elusive job, everyone must love the monopolists of the means of life.

Members of the unions who do not fit these people, we are told, are known as "red raggies," and some call them "anarchists." That is quite proper, of course. The capitalist Press has always set a high standard in its choice of language, and when you cannot meet a man's argument, there is nothing so effective as to call him something which some other ignorant person imagines to be something awful.

"They are generally glib of tongue, and tell themselves into various positions in the respective bodies."

In other words they are intelligent men who are held in esteem by the majority of their unions. Fancy running the editor of the "Herald" as a candidate for any position in a union! Then follows the awful revelation:

"It is not generally known that a large section of many unions is seething with discontent through the efforts of the irreconcilables."

Only through the efforts of the "irreconcilables." Labor could be reconciled to capital if it were not for the irreconcilables. Labor and Capital. There are just two, and only two, wretched irreconcilables in this country, and there will never be industrial peace till both are deported. Their names are: Master and Slave. Did anyone imagine that the "Herald" was not a comic paper. It certainly, however, is a paper of a different respect. Have you heard anything as good as this off the stage?

"The employers hold very high opinions of some of the unions."

Is there any man among our readers who is proud to belong to a union, which the master holds a "very high opinion" of? If so, we have but one thing to say to him. There is plenty of water in Sydney Harbor, and it is deep enough for him to drown himself in.

Now for some comforting information for the master class.

"The red raggies are not all members of the I.W.W.; in fact, very few of them belong to that organization."

So there is more reason than for the masters to fear the quiet and steady propaganda of the Socialists among the unions, and on the political field than the noisy demonstration and talk of cutting loose from all politics. The Socialist propaganda is making headway, and the masters know it. They know, too, that it is not to be easily met by brutal tactics of repression, and when a paper like the "Herald," at a time when no great industrial upheaval is engaging the public attention, apparently goes out of its way to hurl three-quarters of a column of abuse at the Socialists, it indicates that the master class is being compelled to sit up and take notice.

We have referred above to that den of mental prostitution, the "Sydney Morning Herald"; now let us consider what kind of a den this same "Morning Herald" office is, and whether its own slaves, if they are not altogether degenerate, have not the very best of reasons to hate and despise the employers who

Man And The Machine.

The Passing of the Skilled Worker.

Socialism insists that inasmuch as labor has produced every machine and all other wealth that labor should own and control its own production. It is a principle of scientific economics that LABOR OF BRAIN AND BRAWN APPLIED TO NATURAL RESOURCES PRODUCES ALL WEALTH. There is not an economist in any college or university on earth who will for a moment attempt to refute this economic truth. Not a thing of value would we have in present civilisation were it not for the labor of unnumbered millions who have gone before. The people, that is, all who have worked, should live or live with every machine and appliance. Edison may invent an electric dynamo which revolutionises the driving forces of industry, and while we would not for our moment disparage the wonderful achievements of Mr. Edison we must insist, as a matter of fact, that he is nothing more than the heir-apparent of the people since the beginning of time.

Consider the thousands of inventors, experimenters and workers who have collectively made every Edison achievement possible. In illustration we know how impossible they would be had it not been for the invention of the wheel, one of the first and greatest of all inventions, the discovery of iron and steel smelting processes, the electrical experiments of Franklin and the thousands of others, to say nothing of the innumerable and unknown multitudes who did the most useful part of the creative work.

Tribute to the Masters.

A Morgan or a Rockefeller organises an industry, monopolises a life necessity and lays tribute from all the children of men. Such an organisation, with its bestowal of inestimable power, would be totally impossible were it not for the creative genius of millions of men and women who have in their smaller or larger capacity contributed to its possibility.

Such a thing as one person, unaided, developing or producing anything of value in modern society is beyond human power. The collectivity in its millions of ramifications, make possible the meals you digest, the clothes you wear, or the house in which you reside as well as the luxuries of your home and fireside, parks, boulevards, travel and sports.

Passing in review are the manifold facts, that all of the people are responsible for every machine used in modern industry; also that a very few people own and control its operation and product, thus holding in their possession the power of life and death over the masses. And this is unquestionably the fundamental weakness in the present arrangement of society.

Machine is not to Blame.

It is PRIVATE ownership of the machinery which all have produced that is bad. The machine itself is not to be blamed. It should serve mankind as a whole and mitigate the struggle for existence. If it fails in this respect, it is not because machinery is injurious, but because its benefits have been monopolised by individuals. If it were possible for an individual to control the air which is no more necessary to life than food, and deny to the people the right to breathe, it would not be the fault of the air but

keep them slaving in the conditions which exist under its antiquated roof, or rather the few short shingles which serve as an apology for a roof; for the "Herald" office is almost as old as the city of Sydney itself, and the shattered slates which cover it are not proof against the rain, which penetrates even through three floors to the bottom of the building. Originally it was used as a produce store, and it has come down through the old days of hand setting, till gradually all sorts of printing machinery was installed in the ramshackle structure. It is a stone building with an inner shell of extremely dilapidated wood, and though from within it is nothing but a maze of crooked and dingy staircases, there are no external fire escapes. Slaves toil right on the top floor till the small hours of the morning, and those slaves are very, very conscious of the fact that every time they enter that shack they are taking their lives in their hands. Talk about a fire trap. The place is simply a huge tinder-box saturated with oil, benzine, and other inflammables used in the machine rooms, with pots of molten metal and gas jets used for various printing processes, and electric wires, which frequently fuse and

of its control. The same is true of machinery. It should be of service to the people in lessening their toil and rendering life more enjoyable, but in the hands of a few it is unquestionably a social curse. It has supplanted human labor and has brought to it little benefit. The invention and introduction of every new labor-saving machine has turned the working man out of employment and worked upon him a material hardship.

Intelligent working men are beginning to realise these facts, and instead of directing their energy and antagonism against the machine, as of old, they are demanding that it be owned by the collectivity and operated in the interest of all. They are learning the utter hopelessness of contending against progress and evolution and see that the salvation and future hope of the race lies in adjusting themselves to a harmonious relationship with these forces.

Machinery Must Serve Man.

At present machinery competes against man. Under proper conditions it will serve man. There is no doubt but that ultimately the people as a whole will demand that every machine of production and distribution be owned by the whole people. And just as trees grow while the country gentlemen are asleep, or interest piles up while the capitalist is pleasure cruising, so in that day of the future will the machine be doing the work while the world enjoys life. The machine composed of iron and steel rods, bolts, levers and wheels will be the future slave, and tirelessly toil for the benefit of all humanity.

It will be a slave that thinks not nor feels. It will be the result of man's ingenuity; the inventions, experiments and errors of humanity since the beginning of time. The slave of to-morrow will do the bidding of man and perform the great productive work of the world. Human beings, made up of the slaves and freedom of yesterday and to-day will then be enabled to devote their energies and activities to the service of society and the making of the world beautiful and living the crowning achievement of man on earth. The machine slave will do the productive work for all, and there will be no human masters of human slaves. Man in his collective capacity, will be master of the Slave of To-morrow.

Skill is Unnecessary.

There was a time when skill and strength were requisites for a workingman. The period of apprenticeship was long, the cost of training considerable. Now, however, the progress made in the division of labour and the introduction of machinery render skill and strength in production more and more superfluous; they make it possible to substitute unskilled ones; and, consequently, to put weak women and even children in the place of men. In the early stages of manufacturing this tendency is already perceptible; but not until machinery is introduced into production do we find the wholesale exploitation of women and children—the most helpless among the helpless.—Karl Kautsky.

(George D. Brewer in "The Slave of To-morrow.")

"blow out," strung through every section of the rat-infested premises. Part of the equipment of this fair of capitalist genius is (or was) a library of ancient books which were apparently like all the intellectual products of the "Herald," treasures of such inestimable value that even the rats scorned them, and where they were not coated with dust they were covered with the excreta of the rodents. If the building were owned by anyone less wealthy and influential than its present millionaire proprietors, it is highly probable that it would have been condemned at least twenty years ago. Need it be added that the working conditions are a weird combination of the most ignorant and incompetent mismanagement, and the most brutal and nerve destroying "speeding up" which can be conceived of. It is from such a verminous and rat-infested warren, then, that the poisonous propaganda of plutocracy creeps forth to do its disease-breeding work among the minds of degenerate human slaves. Is it any wonder that intelligent men, even among the slower moving craft unions regard the "Herald" and its owner with the utmost contempt.

The Law and the Profits.

The editorial in a recent issue of the "Brisbane Daily Mail," after devoting about a whole column to a splenetic attack upon the I.W.W., winds up with the following illuminating information:—

"The law is too cumbrous, too slow moving, too steeped in tradition, too clogged and hampered by the dead hand of past generations to effect an ideally perfect settlement as between the rights of individuals on the one side and the claims of society and the State on the other. For the present, and as things are, men who are at war with society and the law, men, for example, of the I.W.W. organisation, must expect to suffer, and suffer heavily should they come within the meshes of the law."

Exactly! We are glad that our eum-Tory contemporary agrees with us on this occasion. "Open confession is good for the soul," and so some of the "Mail's" sins will be forgiven after admitting that the law is so devised that individuals with heterodox social ideas cannot expect to exercise their rights of free expression without suffering persecution at the hands of the law.

The "Mail" is not content with a partial confession. It lays bare its soul in the editorial's concluding remarks:—

"There may come a time when people who are content to advocate peaceful revolution in the wage earning system, will not find all the forces of law and justice arrayed against them; but that day is not yet."

Need we comment upon this? We are satisfied to know that the "Mail" has been converted to our way of thinking, and that it subscribes to a cardinal teaching of Socialist philosophy, viz.—That the State is a reactionary institution, and that its function is to keep in subordination all individuals and organisations which threaten the existence of the present economic regime.

ROSEY.

Peace Or War?

Whatever "bluff" there may be in Germany's overtures of peace, they at least throw upon Great Britain and her Allies the responsibility of definitely stating their alternative proposals. Having done that, the nations will then know for what they are fighting.—"The Federal Independent."

Sooner shall these mountains crumble into dust than Argentines and Chileans break the peace to which they have pledged themselves.—Inscription on Peace Monument.

Nothing except a battle lost can be half so melancholy as a battle won.—Wellington.

I sometimes think that there never was a good war or a bad peace.—Ben Franklin.

War? They do not know its horrors; I have seen enough to make me look upon it as the germ of all evil.—Stonewall Jackson.

People are seeing with their own eyes how absolutely powerless militarism is to preserve either justice or peace, and therefore it must be absolutely abolished since it produces only evil.—Miss Priscilla H. Peckover.

But war's a game, which, were their subjects wise, kings would not play at.—Cowper.

The more I study the world the more I am convinced of the inability of force to create anything durable.—Napoleon.

The great obsessions of the world—canibalism, slavery, witchcraft, feudalism—each perished in the hour of its apparent triumph. It must be so with war.—David Starr Jordan.

By the very nature of Christ's teaching, how can force be used to propagate his religion?—John J. Muldowney.

War—the end of hope, the gate of despair, agony and death.—Mary Roberts Rinehart.

There will be no paupers when there are no soldiers. There can be no peace that is not honourable, as there can be no war—that is not dishonourable.—Charles Sumner.

But the real and lasting victories are those of peace and not of war.—Emerson.

It is as though the war demon himself had led humanity to the partings of the roads, where the guide boards indicate on the one side the long way to the Delectable mountains—and on the other the short route to the pit.—Professor John Bates Clark.

SOCIALIST "MAN POWER."

(We have very much pleasure in reprinting from "The Call," London, the following article, written by a former editor of the "International Socialist.")

It is interesting to note how the capitalist Press exploits for its own purposes the saying and doings of German Internationalist Socialists, who have the courage to attack militarism and all its works. A large part of Chapter IX of Mr. Thos. Curtin's disclosures about his ten months in Germany, now appearing in the columns of "The Times," is devoted to a description of one of the historic protests made by Dr. Liebknecht in the Reichstag, not, of course, with the intention of showing the nobility and daring moral courage of our German comrade, but with the intention of discrediting the German Government, which he calls "a one-man affair, consisting of the Imperial Chancellor."

Curtin describes the scene on January 17th of the present year, the day set for discussion of military matters. "Liebknecht arrived early, a slight and unimpressive figure in somewhat worn field-grey, the German khaki," Liebknecht is in the A.S.P. of the German army, and was given occasional leave of absence to attend to his Parliamentary duties. Curtin describes how, while one of the 111 Socialist members was addressing the House, he watched Liebknecht "walking up the aisle leading from the Socialist seats to the President's chair as modestly as possible. He was walking furtively, and he cut the figure of a hunted animal, which is conscious that it is surrounded by hostile enemies anxious to pounce upon it and devour it if it dares to show itself in the open." Is not this descriptive of the attitude of the majority in England towards any anti-militarist who dares to raise a voice in protest against the bloody horrors of "a night to a finish"? When Liebknecht had reached the bottom step of the stairway leading from the tribune, he could hear many snarls from all sections of the House, and once directly he asked to be heard on the question of the day, not only as a member of the House, but as a soldier, the Chamber was filled with shouts and jeers and cries of "But your honour!" "Heck, here he is!" Liebknecht, though pale with exertion, and angry, did not quail before the opposition snarls at him, but stood facing the raging members, his right arm extended and his finger pointed in accusation. Then Liebknecht, another staunch Internationalist, intervened, remarking sarcastically that checking free speech was a bad custom of the Reichstag; this remark made the House turn on Liebknecht, who has more than once weathered a similar storm. In a passing huff, Mr. Curtin managed to catch these words of Liebknecht's, which should be emblazoned on our banner as Internationalists: "Wait, wait," he thundered to the angry members. "My friend Liebknecht and others like us have a great following. You grievously underestimate that following. Some day you will realise that. Wait."

This is the message of the Socialist man-power, organising itself to conquer eventually in the long, long war between Labour and the Capitalist State. Liebknecht, Ledebour, Clara Zetkin, Rosa Luxemburg, they have in truth a great following—they have the following of the Third International, the International whose birth pangs were hastened on by the shock of armed workers killing and maiming other armed workers in the cause of capitalist rivalry.

The Second Internationalist showed itself moribund at the Basle "Peace" Congress, when the revolutionaries who were present were no more allowed "free speech" than were Liebknecht and Ledebour in the Reichstag. War was threatening then, it is blazing now; the conflagration might have been averted if the Second International had organised for Revolution instead of for Reform. But the cleansing fires of the war are, in every part of the world separating the gold from the dross—dynamic Internationalism from State Nationalism. In South Africa it has rent the Labour Party into twain, the dynamic influences crystallising in the International Socialist League of South Africa with its virile young Press organ, "The International"; while in Australia the crisis at the present moment working itself out, when the powerful Labour Party organisation, with its Parliamentary majority in many States, is being cleft from chin to heel with the sword of the conscription campaign, which in New South Wales is forcing a coalition between the Labour and the Opposition parliamentarians on the lines of "Prosecution of the War and Social Betterment," as opposed to the Political Labour Council, which possesses an anti-militarist majority.

If any one is doubtful about the value of educational spade work in our movement, let me point out that the "International Socialist," founded in Sydney several years ago by our comrade Harry Holland, has consistently opposed militarism both

ANTI-CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE.

The Anti-Conscription League held a very successful meeting in the Domain, Sunday, December 31st, 1916.

The following resolution was carried almost unanimously:

"That this meeting of citizens and workers emphatically protests against the Prime Minister, W. M. Hughes, or any other politician, going to England as a representative Australian Delegate to the Imperial Conference without a direct mandate from the people, after the fullest consideration has been given to the questions involved, which is at present prevented by the operations of the War Precautions Act, and regulations unduly limiting the freedom of the Press and public discussion of present day problems."

The speakers were: Chairman, G. Waite (United Laborers); W. Kelly, Mrs. Hungerford MacMahon (W.P.A.); E. E. Judd (Municipal Employees); Councillor Jack Cair (Melbourne); selected Labor candidate for Jilka Jilka, and O. Blane.

It is imperative that we watch this scheme of Imperial Federation very closely, as judging by statements gathered from the remarks of Mr. Massey, Sir Joseph Ward, and Lloyd George, in reference to the proposed Imperial Conference, they intend to introduce a scheme of Conscription for the Colonies. In fact we have reason to believe that this is the main object of the Conference.

H. B. CHARLESWORTH.

Rawson Chambers.

before and since compulsory military training was introduced by Labour politicians in New South Wales. In 1914, Holland being in hospital, the task of editing the paper devolved on me, and it was during a period of my editorship that the Commonwealth Labour Party put into effect the compulsory military training for men aged over 12 years old. The consequences were quite well then that could Labour's would not stand compulsory military training, so they roped in the children of the workers, thousands of whose bodies are now rotting at Gallipoli or in the sands of Egypt. By systematic means, the "International Socialist," ably edited since 1912 by our comrade W. Massey, has now so permeated with its teaching and spirit the Political Labour Council that it has cast out its militarist satellites, and is doing its level best to assist the devils of the conscriptionists.

Our own B.S.P. has also had to face the fire of its own members, and has come out of the melee weakened in numbers, but spiritually strengthened in its revolutionary faith; and we, like Ledebour, can exclaim, "Wait, wait! Liebknecht and others like him have a great following!" In them is vested the man-power of Socialism. They are proud to enrol themselves in the fighting army of the man of whom a political opponent can write the following sentence: "He makes an unforgettable figure, alone there, assailed, harried, and snarled at from every side, a private in the German army bidding defiance to a hundred men, also in uniform, but superior officers. Mere cannon-fodder defying the majestic authority of its helmeted and epauletted overlords! An unprecedented episode as well as an unforgettable one!"

Would that we had one of the 111 Labour members in our British Parliament with the moral courage to protest as Liebknecht protested, and to share the honour of the proud servitude to which Liebknecht has since been sentenced. But our Labour members have "taught the tone of the House," and that tone is political cunning and the avoidance (except in the case of Irish members) of "vulgar" scenes. They are not among the "great following" of Liebknecht. They will not count when Internationalists all over the world commence their "great push," starting from their base of the Third International. Even the War Lords are beginning to shrink in terror from the Frankenstein they have let loose in Europe, Asia and Africa, and Viscount Grey is calling out for a future "League of Peace" among the nations. When the International Anti-militarists desire to organise such a League they are taunted with being "pacifists." We can stand the taunt, even as Liebknecht stood the snarls and threats of the Reichstag; and our reply is, as that of Ledebour, "You grievously underestimate our following. Some day you will realise that. Wait—!"

DORA B. MONTEFIORE.

Some wise man has said that success depends, not on never falling but in getting up every time we fall. This is why Socialists cannot fail—they refuse to stay down.

Socialism will put the charity organisations out of business. There will be no reason for their further existence. No one will be in need of alms under Socialism.

Unemployment

"WHEN A FELLOW IS OUT OF A JOB."

We Socialists do not believe in palliatives, and surely it is not surprising, since the most startling reforms ever suggested do not even alleviate, much less eradicate, the cause of unemployment; which is surely one of the worst evils that exist under the present system. If anyone could introduce a reform likely to deal with this evil, I think I would feel like supporting them, even though I am a Socialist, for whatever it may be to men, unemployment is hell to us women. But even the dear, kind Labour Party, with all its benefits, cannot find any remedy for it.

They attempted, to be sure, by inaugurating the Labour Bureau here, and their counterpart the Liberal Party in England by passing the Bill for Unemployment Insurance, to hoodwink the workers into thinking they were getting a great panacea for this universal evil. Needless to say, however, these two attempts were worse than useless. The capitalist still holds the means of wealth production, consequently unemployment is inevitable; is it not a vice necessity to the continuation of a capitalist system?

Under such circumstances it is surely natural that we Socialists set our faces sternly against reforms, and go straight ahead for the establishment of a system which will give us that economic security which under present conditions, we sigh for in vain.

What does unemployment mean to the men and women of the working class?

I have said it is hell; we generally understand the term to mean the ache of discomfort and suffering, hence my comparison.

It means brain-racking days and sleepless nights; it means that the woman stays home and makes the little money they may have else out as far as possible, and the men tramps about until he is foot-sore, begging some kind slave owner to let him belong to him.

Oh, the misery of it! I verily believe three months of unemployment takes a year off a woman's life. The hope when she rises in the morning, perhaps he may get a job today; towards dinner time, if he hasn't returned, your spirits go up a little higher, he said he might be home for lunch; at 4 o'clock they rise to fever heat, he must have found work, he never stays out so long as this, and when at 5 you hear that well-known step, you are afraid to speak, you hold your breath and wait. He tells you that he stayed away so long because he didn't like to come back with a disappointment and you turn away sick at heart, so that he shan't see your smarting eyes and downcast look. He has enough to bear without his wife's reproaches.

You come to your last shilling, that doesn't take long, and perhaps he gets a chance of work miles away in another State or town. He has to go, the home is broken up, you take a room somewhere, and will join him when funds permit.

At such times we echo Robert Louis Stevenson—

"Home, no more home to me,

Where must I wander?

Hunger my driver, I go where I must."

Did some one say capitalism breaks up home life? Surely not.

Still another side of unemployment, when girls, who depend entirely upon themselves for the means of existence, are thrown out of work. They cannot, like men, sleep in odd corners; their landladies grow impatient, their hunger drives them mad; and they are, how often alas, driven to that last dread alternative, the streets, to gain bread in order to live.

Sometimes I think that instead of shrinking from our "unfortunate" sisters we should rather be thankful that fortune has smiled on us sufficiently to allow us to live without resorting to such hideous means as these.

Such thoughts come to us very often now, when the dread spectre of unemployment is peeping over the shoulder of so many of us. We cannot be sure from one week to another that our husbands will find a market for their labour power. Hardship and privation, if not actual starvation for us and our children stares us in the face. Poor wee kiddies, they didn't ask to be brought into all this misery. The look on their tiny faces when they are refused some ordinary thing which is not an absolute necessity, seems a reproach for being responsible for their existence.

For our children's sake then, as well as our own, shall not we women and men of the working class look this problem square in the face? We are met with the grim fact that under a capitalists' system unemployment is inevitable, it is impossible for it even to be alleviated, therefore, once again, let us resolve to change this corrupt system, let us wrench from the master class those tools of wealth production and take and hold them for our-

A. S. P. NEWS AND NOTES.

SYDNEY BRANCH.

A picnic was held on Boxing Day, the venue being Balmoral. The weather was more favorable there than in Sydney, and those who attended spent a pleasant day. A dance in the hall, which was well patronised, finished up the evening.

On Sunday, December 31st, the usual Domain meeting was held, the speakers being Comrades Messrs. Sonimer, Reardon, Day, Handcock, Jenkins, and Holmes.

In the evening, at the hall, Comrade Reardon lectured on "Industrial Peace." Our comrade, in his address, compared the capitalists' method of obtaining this desirable object with that of the Socialists, and the difference in the two methods seemed to amuse the audience very much. Leaders and members' attention is called to the fact that a fancy dress dance is being held on Saturday, 20th January.

Prizes will be given to the best dressed lady and gentleman.

The committee invite you to roll up, and make it a big success. Tickets, 1s. double tickets, 1s. 6d.

On Sunday next, January 11th, a debate will take place between Comrades Reardon and Ullmann, when Com. Reardon will affirm and Com. Ullmann will deny the following:

"That the teaching of Sex Hygiene will not assist the workers in their struggle for emancipation."

Com. Ullmann will take the negative. Each speaker will be allowed 20 minutes to open, 15 minutes and 5 minutes to reply.

A pleasant and instructive Sunday evening assured at the A.S.P. Hall, 334 Pitt Street. M.R. Min Sec.

MELBOURNE BRANCH.

Regret was caused amongst members of this branch that Comrade Luke Connors, General Secretary, was unable to lecture on Sunday, December 31st, owing to the illness of Mrs. Jones. Those who heard him speak at the Yarra Bank on the previous Sunday wished to hear him again. It is hoped he will be able to visit Melbourne in the near future and give his postponed address.

The Conference gave opportunity for much necessary interchange of opinions between comrades from other States, which should be beneficial to the advancement of the party generally.

The visit of Interstate delegates will make them understand the difficulties this Branch has to contend against, amongst their own class in this State, the most Conservative and reactionary portion of the entire Commonwealth with a dead and alive lot of wage slaves deaf to the message of Socialism.

A very hot day, and the holidays resulted in the Yarra Bank being almost deserted on the last day of the year. Consequently none of our speakers took the platform.

Arrangements are being made to get the usual Sunday propaganda meetings going once more. Several new members are experienced speakers, and will help with these meetings. Week-night meetings may also be resumed shortly.

On Sunday, 31st December, Mrs. J. MacDonald gave an address on "The Law of Biogenesis," which law is that every organism in its individual development repeats the life history of the race to which it belongs. The animal kingdom, including man, did not appear suddenly one day on this planet, but has developed from life in primeval waters millions of years ago. The speaker contended that working-class children should be taught the elements of science in State schools, and that this knowledge should not be available in the Universities alone, which institutions working class boys and girls never have a chance of attending.

On New Year's Day a picnic was held at Fern Tree Gully, and everyone enjoyed him or herself until a thunderstorm, heavy rain, and hail, broke up the proceedings. The party returned early to town, and chased the hours with flying feet, after tea at the hall.

J. M., Press Cors.

selves. Picture to ourselves the joy of economic security and throw ourselves heart and soul into the struggle to secure it; above all, working-class women, we want your aid; if, as I contend, the evils of unemployment are worse for us than for men, then we should work proportionately in bringing about a system under which these evils shall cease.

We are the mothers of our race, our influence is far reaching, let us see to it then that our children "shall rise up and call us blessed," for struggling and educating them to struggle to obtain the emancipation of our class once and for ever. M.R.

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